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hidden struggle between her husband and her father-in-law. Though she is in the position of a daughter to her parents-in-law, she cannot feel for them nor they for her the love and devotion that moderate the strictness of parental authority and give a tone of easy-going friendliness to the normal intercourse of parents and children. One side of the parent-child relationship, the authority of parents over their children, looms foremost for her. The cleavage between successive generations and the tension that holds them apart, are underlined at the expense of the mutual devotion and identification of parents and children.

Parents-in-law, for their part, have ambivalent feelings towards their daughter-in-law. Behind their ostensible pride and pleasure in their son's marriage lurks the shadow of resentment. A man realizes that his son's marriage is the first step in his eventual emancipation. It is the seed from which grow responsibilities and interests that compete with those he owes to his natal family and threaten his loyalties to them. A woman sees in her son's marriage a sign that her reproductive life is over. Tallensi hold that it is improper, and to some extent mystically dangerous, for mother-in-law and daughter-in-law to bear at the same time. Hence parents often, though covertly, try to prevent a first son marrying young, or else, in self-defence, display exaggerated conceit at a son's early marriage. Only the coming of grandchildren, coinciding as it does with the habituation of the daughter-in-law to her conjugal family, and itself a distinction inspiring great pride and joy in the grandparents, compensates for the renunciations implicitly required of a man's parents when he takes a wife.

Inevitably, therefore, there is an element of tension in the relations of parents-in-law and daughter-in-law. The fact that the daughter-in-law is under the power of her husband's family, particularly of her father-in-law, and that they are formally, if not openly, opposed to her paternal family, to which, however, she is still attached by the strongest ties of duty and sentiment, may add to the strain. It may be quite superficial in a well-regulated family or in the case of an approved marriage, apparent only in the conventions of speech and etiquette. In an ill-managed family, or if there is opposition to the marriage, it often comes out openly. Parents-in-law complain of their daughter-in-law's manners or actions, or mother-in-law and daughter-in-law have petty squabbles. As time passes the strain is mitigated with the gradual absorption of the daughter-in-law into her conjugal family. It is never wholly erased. Even in so well organized a family as Omara's, there was a standing feud between his younger wives and his mother. The old woman, half-sunk in the hebetude of senility, complained ceaselessly of the neglect of her daughters-in-law; and they often quarrelled with her vehemently on account of what they regarded as her exorbitant demands on their firewood, their labour, and their food-supply.

The conventions of behaviour followed by parents-in-law and daugh-

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trite, especially after one has heard it fifty times. But it is charged with deep emotion for the native to whom it stands for all the tribulations and anxieties connected with the whole task of bringing up a child.

Men say that these tribulations begin with the act of sex itself. Desired though it is for the pleasure it gives, sexual intercourse is debilitating. Ejaculation (*duun duurəm*, a term primarily used for micturition) is a giving up of something vital that is a source of strength and youth. That is why young, unmarried men are so much more vigorous than married men.

Then there is the strain under which a man lives during his wife's pregnancy, particularly if it is a first pregnancy. Pregnancy, the creation of life, must not be brought into contact with death. Hence he, as the father of his wife's coming child, must not take direct part in mortuary or funeral rites. If he is one of the bereaved, the rites he is compelled to undergo are modified so as to eliminate contact with the corpse or objects symbolizing it. No particular evil is thought to follow on a breach of this taboo, which can, in fact, be magically purged if circumstances compel a man to it. But no man would be so callous as to flout the taboo deliberately.

Again, a man must not cut a new bush farm while his wife is pregnant, lest she miscarry. Both are critical events, affectively as well as socially, involving economic readjustments and the assumption of new responsibilities. Preparing a new bush farm absorbs you completely; it is, the natives say, 'a commotion of the heart (*suhkpelɛg*)'. But when your wife is pregnant you 'take heed only of her pregnancy (*i wona u puur la*)'. You cannot give attention, at the same time, to a new and vital economic enterprise like cutting a new bush farm. Apart from a wife's pregnancy only two other critical happenings are so obsessing as to be considered mystically incompatible with making a new bush farm—building a new house, a momentous undertaking, both materially and ritually, which marks an important change in a man's social personality; and taking a new wife, which also involves or portends big readjustments in one's social relations. It is significant that a man who is cutting a new bush farm or building a new house keeps away from funerals outside his own inner lineage since they are both emotionally disturbing and a distraction. All these critical events demand watchfulness and solicitude, for unknown dangers of both a physical and a mystical kind threaten their outcome. A man has to go about consulting diviners. He offers special sacrifices to his ancestors and puts the matter in their particular care.

Another sign of the concern that tempers a man's joy at his wife's pregnancy is the caution he must use in the chase. He must not kill certain mystically dangerous animals, else his wife may miscarry or bear a deformed child.

A man's close relatives are also concerned when his wife is pregnant, especially if it is a first pregnancy. His mother and the older women of

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602 the family keep an eye on the girl lest she overstrain herself or break one
843 of the dietary taboos. If his father is alive it is he who visits diviners and appeals to the ancestors.

The woman's paternal family, too, are concerned, especially in a first pregnancy. When they have been informed of it, her father appeals to his ancestors to bless her in her coming ordeal, and her mother and sisters bring her gifts of firewood, as her time approaches. It is also her mother's duty, round about the fourth or fifth month, to send one of
[292] her co-wives to 'gird the girl with a perineal band (*suol u voog*)', the garb of a matron; for until she has a child a woman wears no genital covering.

The prohibition against giving or accepting bride-price during a woman's pregnancy expresses this general solicitude too. Bride-price transactions involve tension and possible conflict between her father's people and her husband's; and this is not only distressing to her but dangerous to the unborn child. If, for instance, her father, defying convention and the ancestor spirits, as some men are heartless enough to do, takes her from her husband because the bride-price is not paid, the child's legitimate paternity may be prejudiced, as we have noted before, and its health suffer, or the woman herself have a difficult labour.

843 The solicitude for a woman with child reaches its peak at her confine-
844 ment and during the subsequent three or four weeks, until she has regained her strength and resumes her normal activities. Many men
846 have described to me their feelings in the hour of a wife's labour. 'You sit listening to her cries and groans of agony. You can't sleep. Your heart is clenched with fear and pity. You do not know how it will end. Do not women die in childbirth or become ill? Do not children die or get injured at birth?' A man's relief and happiness when his wife has passed safely (*salog*) through her confinement is written plainly in his voice and gait. Zaŋ, one of the most morose men I have known, was all smiles and affability on the morning after his wife's confinement.
[777] When friends and neighbours congratulate a man on his good luck (*zuson*, lit. good head) it is as much on account of his wife's safety as on the child's arrival.

846 During the days of seclusion—three for a boy and four for a girl—and for the next week or so, it is the husband's duty to provide sustaining food and appetizing condiments for his wife. He will go out to fetch large logs for the fire that must be kept going day and night in the woman's room while she and the babe are still weak and liable to catch cold. Every morning he will go out or send someone to collect the leaves and herbs to infuse in the hot water with which mother and child are bathed. And if necessary he will himself carry water from the water-hole or do other services for her comfort that men usually consider to be beneath their dignity.

846 A confinement also involves extra labour and the dislocation of routine
602 for the womenfolk of the husband's family. The care of the woman and

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843 For a woman too, and for any native who is looking at it from the point of view of motherhood, the difficulties of bringing a child into the world centre round pregnancy and labour. Tale women generally seem to take a pregnancy in their stride, especially later pregnancies. They go on with their household tasks until the last minute. Children are sometimes born in the bush, and quite often born outside on the home farm, where the mother has been busy with some task. Miscarriages due to the strain of heavy work such as fetching heavy loads of firewood or going to distant markets to buy grain by the sack, and bringing it home by head carriage are not uncommon among multiparae. Primiparae, as we have seen, are usually watched over by older women, but miscarriages due to overstrain occur among them too. A woman who has had a child is trusted to look after herself.

843 But in spite of their apparently casual attitude to it, women think of pregnancy as fraught with weariness, discomfort, and anxiety. A woman thinks of the purely physiological discomforts such as the attacks of sickness and giddiness she may suffer. She thinks of the circumspection she must use in her eating and drinking. Very thin gruel, cold left-over porridge, sweet potatoes, too much cold water, are all things which would injure her health and must be avoided; nor may she eat honey, else her babe will be born with a catarrhal snuffle. A woman thinks, also, of the increasing lassitude that makes her household tasks more and more burdensome as her term approaches. She remembers the store of firewood she must gather and the provisions she must lay in for her confinement, though it is hard enough to satisfy the current needs of the household. And at the back of her mind she has always the fear of a miscarriage. She is subject, also, to ritual taboos, the most important being the avoidance of funerals.

844 Then, of course, there is the act of giving birth (*dɔɣ*) in the narrow sense. Tale women do not think of it in anticipation with terror or repugnance, but they do associate it with pain and possible complications. The crude midwifery of the old women who assist at a birth, relying in part on magical measures, cannot correct a breech presentation (*tula*) or expel an undescended placenta.

846 Women always put particular emphasis on the agonies of the hygiene of confinement. Mother and child are subjected to a course of hot baths, douching, and massage which the natives say is extremely painful. A white onlooker finds the process harrowing, to say the least. Water heated to nearly boiling-point is used and medicinal leaves and herbs are infused in it. The infant goes rigid with pain when it is washed in this decoction, and the mother squirms and shrieks as it is sluiced over her body and still tender sexual parts. Massage and oiling with shea butter follow the bath. The treatment is given twice or thrice daily during the days of seclusion and is gradually reduced over the following two or three weeks, fewer baths being given and the temperature of the

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To return to our main subject, squabbles between children, whether they are successive siblings or not, are laughed away. When adult brothers and sisters quarrel it is taken more seriously. The irresponsibility—as the men view it—of women in marriage often leads to family quarrels. A woman who runs away from a husband to whom she has been given, or obstinately returns to one from whom she has been taken, arouses her father's and her brothers' anger. There may be a temporary estrangement between them. But in the end they usually become reconciled again. If she does not give in, her father or brothers do. 'They have no alternative but to give in (*ba kɔŋ ka diegɔra*)', the natives say. Before that happens, however, there may be a father's curse on the girl and hard words spoken to her and her husband by her brothers.

Adult *soog* brothers also fall out at times, but in contrast to disputes between half-brothers this seems very rarely to become either the pretext or the stimulus to their deciding to separate. Tallensi ascribe it to peculiarities of personality. The very fact that full brothers are often alike in character may be the cause of friction between them. To give one or two illustrations, there was the case of Zaŋ and his older *soog* brother Pumaan. They were both inclined to be solitary, egocentric, excessively touchy about their status, and suspicious of others. The strong competitive streak in them inevitably coloured their relations. So Zaŋ often complained that he found Pumaan's authority irksome. But there was never, as far as I could discover, an open quarrel between

But one or two more thoughtful informants appeared to have an inkling of the deeper sources of this peculiarity. They connected it with the fact that the older sibling is 'set aside' or 'left to itself (*bah*)' by the mother when she becomes pregnant with its *nyeer*. That is to say, the child's physical weaning is completed and simultaneously its affective attachment to its mother—a very possessive attachment with unweaned Tale babies—is brought to an end. A *nyeer* dispossesses its immediately preceding sibling of their mother's undivided care and devotion in both the physical and the psychological sense. This is a fact of observation and one which has a direct influence on family life. As we know, Tallensi maintain that it is very difficult for a woman to take care of two unweaned infants, hence the prohibition against a woman's becoming pregnant again before her infant is old enough to do without her undivided attention. When this custom is broken, so that a premature pregnancy follows, the parents are said to *nye* their child. As this term, cognate with *nyeer*, suggests, and conventional opinion confirms, a premature *nyeer* is believed to endanger a child's life. On the analogy of what is known to happen in our society, it can be surmised that the open acknowledgement of rivalry between successive siblings is a culturally standardized safety-valve for the jealousy and resentment the older sibling has against the younger for robbing him of their mother's attention. This explains also why successive birth order is the significant feature and not survival order. The older child's resentment will be directed only against its immediately next-born sibling, the one on whose account it was 'set aside', whether that sibling lives or not. It is possible, moreover, that open acknowledgement of the rivalry of successive siblings prevents it from turning into a disruptive element in the relations of siblings.

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also an *ahəŋ* of Sie and of Təŋ Kuorəg because other patrilineal ancestors of his were *ahəs* of those clans. But when he was explaining his various ancestor shrines to me he accounted for his possession of one on the grounds of his being a *yaaŋ* of Sək—his patrilineal great-great-grandfather's mother's mother having been a daughter of Sək; and for another on the ground of his being an Arogo *yaaŋ*, since his mother's mother's mother came from Arogo. The distinction between *ahəŋ* and *yaaŋ* in this sense implies corresponding differences in social relations. It follows, as can easily be seen, from combining the principle of lineage continuity with that of sibling equivalence.

Our analysis shows that the extension and transference of extra-clan kinship ties through the social system is not an indiscriminate lumping together of classes or groups of relatives. It is strictly regulated by the basic principles on which that system is built up. We must not forget, however, that the majority of these derivative social ties are only potential. The more distant or indirect they are the less frequently and the less effectively do they emerge in the form of actual social relations. We shall come back to this presently.

The diagram overleaf summarizes the results of the preceding analysis.

The Nuclear Relationship of Mother's Brother and Sister's Son

All extra-clan kinship ties, except those of uterine kin, are rooted in the relationship of mother's brother and sister's child. We proceed now to study this relationship in greater detail.[1]

Tallensi say that a mother's brother is a 'sort of father (*u ŋman ni i ba*—lit. he is like your father)', and a sister's child is 'like your own child (*u ŋman ni i bii*)'. These expressions conjure up, to the native, a picture of a personal and lifelong mutual interest and attachment similar to that of parent and child. How deeply it goes depends on the character and disposition of the individuals concerned, but it is always there. In part it is no more than a continuation of the interest a woman's close lineage kin have in her children, but it has distinctive features of its own and is counted of more value and importance than a maternal grandparent's interest in a daughter's children.

When a girl becomes pregnant for the first time her husband sends a message to her parents. Later, about the fourth or fifth month of her pregnancy, her mother sends one of her close co-wives to bind the girl with a perineal band (*suol voog*). This is a proud moment for her, as the perineal band shows her to have left maidenhood behind and to have entered the ranks of the matrons (*pɔɣaŋaay*, pl. *pɔɣaŋaas*). Then, before

[1] The starting-point of this analysis is Radcliffe-Brown's theory of the social equivalence of the mother's brother to his sister in relation to her children, first expounded in his article 'The Mother's Brother in South Africa', loc. cit. 'Sister's son' in this chapter stands for 'sister's child of either sex', except when the context shows that a male is meant.

[Text continued on p. 301.—ANALYST]

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the child is due, her husband sends a sacrifice for her spirit guardian to her father, to secure the blessing of her patrilineal ancestors on the ordeal she is soon to undergo. When the child is born, a messenger is again dispatched to announce its birth to the girl's parents. He is received with the hospitality due to a bearer of particularly glad tidings. Now the girl's mother sends her four new calabashes. These are the infant's toilet-vessels—one for giving the infant its daily medicated water to drink, one as a dipper for use when bathing it, one as a slop basin, one for scooping up its excrement. These private toilet utensils are in part a magical protection for the baby. The occasion is also marked, as we have learnt, by a special gift of foodstuffs to the new mother from her father. All these formalities are not necessary for children after the first; it is enough to send a message on the birth of the child. But the woman's paternal relatives are no less interested in these later children than in her first child.

A child makes the acquaintance of its mother's paternal family very early in life. Its mother's sisters and mother's mother, if she is not too old, are frequent visitors to its mother. Its mother's brothers may be frequent visitors too, especially if they are on friendly terms with its father. But it is not till the child reaches the age of about 5 or 6, when it begins to be taken on visits to its *ahəb yiri*, that it clearly distinguishes these relatives. The person who matters most to a small child at its mother's brother's house is its maternal grandmother (*ma-kpeem*), in whose quarters and under whose care the child lives.[1] Old people, both men and women, love to have their daughters' young children to stay with them, and pet and spoil them quite as much as their sons' children. As will be remembered, grandchildren joke with their maternal grandparents. At harvest time, in particular, old women often have daughters' children to stay for a week or two, so that they can enjoy the good food available at that time. Playing and eating and sleeping with the children of the house, a child learns to regard them as siblings, and partly through imitating them, partly through coming directly under the discipline of his mother's brother, a child thus visiting its *ahəb yiri* learns to think of its *ahəb* as a 'sort of father'. He hears all the gossip of the family. When a domestic sacrifice is performed he is present and receives the portion of the animal—the neck (*nangoor*)—prescribed for an *ahəŋ*. I have more than once seen a small boy of perhaps 8 receive the neck of a sacrifice, amid an amused chuckle from his mother's brothers. If a woman dies leaving a young child of less than 5 or 6 years old it is a common thing for the child to be sent to live with its maternal grandmother for a year or two until it is old enough to need only a minimum of maternal care.

Thus, a child learns to think of its *ahəb yiri*, in the strict sense of its mother's brother's homestead, at first, in the more extended sense, later, as a place where it is given food, shelter, affectionate attention, and

[1] This follows directly from the constitution of the joint family.

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may do so for himself. She, again, may eat an animal he avoids, but would hardly find it feasible to cook it in her own kitchen.

The occasions for which special foods are customary are few. A woman in her first pregnancy must eat food 'which is good for her', such as meat and highly seasoned soup and avoid unsuitable foods such as thinly mixed flour-water (*zɔmsaka*), left-over porridge, or too many sweet potatoes or frafra potatoes. Nor may she eat cold food or drink too much cold water. 'Sweet' food (i.e. luxury foods such as sold in the market) is not encouraged, while honey is prohibited for magical reasons. A woman found eating the latter is severely reprimanded and a special rite has to be carried out on the birth of the child or it will have a blocked nose. During confinement a woman is given porridge with highly seasoned soups and a generous allowance of fish or meat to make her strong.

There is no specific food for sick people, except that fresh porridge and pungent soup are considered strengthening. The prognosis is very grave if a sick person refuses food. In the prostration of grief, too, people refuse food and their relatives try to tempt their palate with delicacies.

Old and toothless people in time of food shortage are given crushed ground-nuts (*sukpabugra*) to drink down with water.

We have attempted, in this paper, to give an outline of the domestic commissariat of the Tallensi. Our interest has been focussed on the principles according to which the domestic groupings of Tale society organize and sustain the social activities customary for the production of raw foodstuffs, their preservation, and their conversion into and consumption as edible food. We have observed how the ever-changing, developing structure of the joint family determines these activities; how Tale culture defines the values and norms by which these activities are regulated and directed; how these values and norms, on the one hand, and seasonal conditions, on the other, control the annual cycle of food production and consumption; and finally, how the convergent influence of family structure, cultural norms and values, and seasonal exigencies determine the crucial situation of the series, the translation of the product of natural resources and culturally organized labour into the edible food in the kitchen.